

DOS Review Completed.

1972 NOV 3 AM 10 27

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE 031205Z NOV 72 VIA CAS CHANNELS (BUNKER)
FROM: AMBASSADOR BUNKER SAIGON 0246 IMMEDIATE
TO: THE WHITE HOUSE, EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

SECTION 1 OF 4

1. MR. NHA DELIVERED TO ME TODAY THE FOLLOWING MEMORANDUM WHICH HE HAS ASKED ME TO FORWARD PROMPTLY:

BEGIN TEXT:

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

MEMORANDUM OF NOVEMBER 3, 72
 OUTLINING THE POINTS RAISED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF
 THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM ON THE DRAFT AGREEMENT
 DATED OCTOBER 17, 72

THE DISCLOSURE BY HANOI ON OCTOBER 26, 72 OF THE 9 POINTS SUMMARIZING THE DRAFT AGREEMENT HAS SHOWN THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND NORTH VIET-NAM ON ONE HAND, AND BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE OTHER.

FURTHERMORE, THE AMBIGUOUS STATEMENTS BY DR. KISSINGER IN HIS PRESS BRIEFING OF OCTOBER 26, 72 HAVE GIVEN THE FALSE IMPRESSION THAT THERE ARE ONLY DETAILS IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT TO BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM, HOWEVER, STILL CONSIDERS THAT THE PROBLEMS OF THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY FROM SVN INTO NVN AND THE FOUR INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES SHOULD BE STATED CLEARLY. LIKEWISE, THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS THAT THERE ARE TWO ZONES NORTH AND SOUTH VIET-NAM WHICH CANNOT INVADE EACH OTHER AND INTERFERE IN EACH OTHER INTERNAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS, AND THAT THERE IS A DEMILITARIZED ZONE, SHOULD BE RESPECTED.

THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SVN ARE THE SOLE PROBLEMS OF THE FORCES AND GROUPS IN SVN WHO WILL RESOLVE WITH EACH OTHER AND IN WHICH NORTH VIET NAM HAS NO RIGHT TO INTERFERE.

THE FOREGOING POINTS ARE BASIC FUNDAMENTAL PREREQUISITES, AND NOT DETAILS, WHICH HAVE TO BE RESOLVED IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A GENUINE PEACE SOLUTION AND A SERIOUS CEASE FIRE.

IN THE SPIRIT OF FULL COOPERATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN NEGOTIATING AN HONORABLE PEACE SETTLEMENT, AND WHILE HARBORING NO ILLUSIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THE DESIRABILITY OF ACHIEVING AN EARLY PEACE WILL CHANGE AFTER THE ELECTION, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM HOWEVER FEELS THAT IT SHOULD STATE CLEARLY AND IN DETAIL THE AREAS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT. THIS WILL PREVENT POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS ON WHERE WE STAND IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE COMMUNISTS, AND POSSIBLE DETERIORATION OF THE ESSENTIAL UNITY WHICH HAS MARKED OUR RELATIONSHIP OVER THE YEARS.

CONSEQUENTLY, AS DR. KISSINGER IS ABOUT TO MEET WITH NORTH VIET NAM'S REPRESENTATIVES, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM TAKES THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPOUND ITS VIEWS ON THE DRAFT AGREEMENT.

A.- ON THE FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTER OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT FOR VIET NAM, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM REITERATES ITS VIEWS THAT ANY WORKABLE PEACE AGREEMENT SHOULD ENCOMPASS THE FOLLOWING THREE BASIC PRINCIPLES, WHICH INCIDENTALLY DO NOT FIGURE IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIET NAM CURRENTLY UNDER NEGOTIATIONS:

A) THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS, ACCORDING TO WHICH:

- THERE ARE TWO DIFFERENT ZONES, NORTH AND SOUTH VIET NAM WHICH CANNOT INVADE EACH OTHER AND INTERFERE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS;
 - THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIET NAM SHOULD BE RESPECTED BY BOTH ZONES;
- SHOULD BE STATED CLEARLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY. LIKELISE, THE PROBLEM OF THE FOUR INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES SHOULD BE CLEARLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY STATED.

B) THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS AND MATERIAL, AS A FOREIGN FORCE IN SVN, SHOULD BE TOTALLY WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTH VIET NAM INTO NORTH VIET NAM WITHIN THE SAME DELAY AS ASSIGNED TO THE US AND FOREIGN FORCES. ALL THE NORTH VIETNAMESE MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND SECRET BASES IN SVN MUST BE DISMANTLED WITHIN THAT SAME DELAY.

ANY CONTENTION THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS STRENGTH IN SVN IS NOW AT ITS LOWEST POINT OF AROUND 140,000 MEN IS IMAGINARY AND MISLEADING BECAUSE THE ACTUAL STRENGTH OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SVN IS NOT LESS THAN 300,000 MEN.

CONSEQUENTLY, WE CANNOT SOLVE THE PRESENCE OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIET NAM BY PULLING A FEW NORTH VIETNAMESE DIVISIONS FROM MILITARY REGION I IN SVN BECAUSE, SINCE 3 YEARS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE BROKEN UP THEIR TROOPS

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INTO SMALL UNITS THROUGHOUT THE OTHER MILITARY REGIONS.
EVEN IN THE DELTA, THE MAJORITY OF COMMUNIST TROOPS
ARE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

THEREFORE, THE PROVISION FOR THE NORTH VIETNAMESE
TO WITHDRAW ALL THEIR TROOPS AND MATERIAL IN SVN
AS WELL AS DISMANTLE ALL THEIR MILITARY INSTALLATIONS
AND SECRET BASES IN SVN WITHIN THE SAME DELAY AS
ASSIGNED TO THE OTHER FOREIGN FORCES IN SVN, SHOULD
BE CLEARLY SPELLED OUT IN ANY PEACE AGREEMENT, AND
NOT SUBJECT TO SECRET UNDERSTANDINGS OR SECRET ACCORDS.

- C) THE POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR SOUTH VIET NAM SHOULD BE
LEFT TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE TO DECIDE BETWEEN
THEMSELVES IN TRUE APPLICATION OF THE SACRED AND
INALIENABLE PRINCIPLE OF THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION,
AND NOT PREJUDGED THROUGH ANY PREFABRICATED AND
ARBITRARY FORMULA TO BE IMPOSED ON THE SOUTH VIET-
NAMESE PEOPLE.

B.- POINTS RAISED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
VIET NAM IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT:

AS DISCUSSED WITH DR. KISSINGER IN A WORKING SESSION
ON OCTOBER 21, 72, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM
HAD RAISED A NUMBER OF POINTS. FOR THE RECORD, WE WILL LIST
THOSE POINTS AND AMENDMENTS AS FOLLOWS (REFERENCE TEXT OF
DRAFT AGREEMENT DATED OCTOBER 17, 72):

- 1.- ON THE OPTIONS FOR FOUR-PARTY SIGNING OR TWO PARTY
SIGNING, WE THINK IT SHOULD BE PHRASED AS "THE
PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON
VIET NAM"

TO MAKE THE CHANGE CONSISTENT, WE PROPOSE TO
CHANGE ARTICLE 11 (A), PAGE 12, THE FIRST FOUR LINES,
AND ARTICLE 15, PAGE 19, THE FIRST FOUR LINES.

- 2.- ON CHAPTER I, PAGE 2, ARTICLE 1 WE BELIEVE THAT
No Objection to Declassification in Full 2010/12/17 : LOC-HAK-490-9-5-3
CHAPTER [REDACTED] GE 7 WHICH WILL THEN [REDACTED]S FOLLOWS:
"CHAPTER III - THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S FUNDAMENTAL
RIGHTS AND THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE
SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE.

ARTICLE 8.- THE UNITED STATES RESPECTS THE INDEPENDENCE,
SOVEREIGNTY, UNITY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF VIET NAM
AS RECOGNIZED BY THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON
VIET NAM".

- 3.- ON CHAPTER II WE PROPOSE TO CHANGE ARTICLE 2 AS
FOLLOWS: "A CEASE FIRE SHALL BE OBSERVED THROUGHOUT
SOUTH VIET NAM AS OF [REDACTED] HOURS (SAIGON TIME)
[REDACTED] HOURS (HANOI TIME), ON [REDACTED], 1972, I.E.,
[REDACTED] HOURS G.M.T., ON [REDACTED], 1972. "THE REST
OF THE ARTICLE REMAINS UNCHANGED.

- 4.- ON CHAPTER II, ARTICLE 3, SECTION (A), WE PROPOSE
TO DELETE THE WORDS "THOSE OF THE OTHER FOREIGN
COUNTRIES ALLIED WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WITH THE
REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM" AND REPLACE THEM BY "ALL OTHER
NON SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES". THIS IS IN APPLICATION
OF THE SECOND BASIC PRINCIPLE IN POINT A OF THIS
MEMORANDUM. CONSEQUENTLY, AND TO MAKE THE CHANGE
CONSISTENT, WE PROPOSE TO CHANGE THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES:

- A) ADD TO ARTICLE 5, PAGE 4 THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH
"CONCURRENTLY, NORTH VIETNAMESE REGULAR AND
IRREGULAR FORCES WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTH
VIET NAM INTO NORTH VIET NAM WITHIN THE SAME
PERIOD OF TIME."
- B) IN ARTICLE 6, PAGE 5, AFTER THE WORDS "AND WITH
THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM" ADD THE FOLLOWING WORDS
"AS WELL AS THAT OF NORTH VIETNAMESE MILITARY
INSTALLATIONS AND SECRET BASES."
- C) IN ARTICLE 11, PAGE 12, THIRD PARAGRAPH, DELETE
"AND THOSE OF THE OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES ALLIED
TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM"
AND REPLACE BY "AND ALL OTHER NON SOUTH VIETNAMESE
FORCES." IN THE FIFTH PARAGRAPH, DELETE "AND THOSE OF
THE OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES ALLIED WITH THE UNITED STATES
AND TO THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM" AND REPLACE BY
"AS WELL AS ALL OTHER NON SOUTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS"
IN THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PAGE 13, ADD "AND THE
DISMANTLEMENT OF NORTH VIETNAMESE MILITARY INSTALLATIONS
AND SECRET BASES IN SOUTH VIET-NAM". THE SAME CHANGES
WILL APPLY FOR ARTICLE 13, PAGE 15, SECOND, FOURTH AND
FIFTH PARAGRAPHS.
- D) IN ARTICLE 12, PAGE 14, IN THE FOURTH PARAGRAPH,
FIRST SENTENCE, AFTER "TROOPS INTO" ADD "NORTH
VIET-NAM AND...". IN THE FIFTH PARAGRAPH, FIRST
SENTENCE, AFTER "THE QUESTION OF" ADD "SOUTH". THE
SAME CHANGES APPLY FOR ARTICLE 13 (C) PAGE 16, FIFTH
PARAGRAPH (FIRST SENTENCE) AND SEVENTH PARAGRAPH
(SECOND SENTENCE).

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- 5.- IN ARTICLE 7, PAGE 5, FIRST PARAGRAPH, IN THE SECOND SENTENCE DELETE THE WORDS "... FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT" AND REPLACE BY "COMPLETION OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS". IN THE THIRD SENTENCE, DELETE "... THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES" AND REPLACE BY "SOUTH VIET NAM AND NORTH VIET NAM". IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF THIS PARAGRAPH, DELETE "SOUTH VIET NAM" AND REPLACE BY "THEIR RESPECTIVE TERRITORIES".

IN THE SECOND PARAGRAPH, FIRST SENTENCE, DELETE "THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES SHALL..." AND REPLACE BY "THEY SHALL..."

- 6.- ON CHAPTER III, PAGE 6, ARTICLE 8, PARAGRAPH (C), STARTING FROM THE THIRD SENTENCE, WE PROPOSE TO DELETE "ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ARTICLE 21 (B) OF THE AGREEMENT ON THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN VIET NAM OF JULY 20, 1954. THEY WILL DO SO." IN THE EIGHTH SENTENCE WE PROPOSE TO DELETE "WITHIN TWO MONTHS".
- 7.- ON CHAPTER IV, PAGE 7, ARTICLE 9 PARAGRAPH (B) LAST SENTENCE, WE PROPOSE TO DELETE "GENERAL". TO BE CONSISTENT, WE PROPOSE TO DELETE "GENERAL" IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH (I) OF ARTICLE 9, PAGE 10.
- 8.- ON ARTICLE 9, PARAGRAPH (C), FIRST SENTENCE, WE PROPOSE TO CHANGE "THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE..." AND REPLACE BY "ALL THE VIETNAMESE..."

- 9.- ON ARTICLE 9, PARAGRAPH (D), LAST SENTENCE WE PROPOSE TO DELETE "SAIGON" AND REPLACE BY "SOUTH VIET NAM".
- 10.- ON ARTICLE 9, PARAGRAPH (F) PAGE 8, WE PROPOSE TO CHANGE THE WHOLE PARAGRAPH TO READ AS FOLLOWS:
"IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CEASE FIRE, THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES SHALL HOLD CONSULTATIONS IN A SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD, MUTUAL RESPECT, AND MUTUAL NON ELIMINATION TO SET UP A COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD. THE COMPOSITION, THE PRINCIPLE OF OPERATION, AND THE TASKS OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD WILL BE DECIDED BY COMMON AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES. THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES SHALL SIGN AN AGREEMENT ON THE INTERNAL MATTERS OF SOUTH VIET NAM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE CEASE FIRE COMES INTO EFFECT, IN KEEPING WITH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S ASPIRATIONS FOR PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, AND DEMOCRACY".
- 11.- ON ARTICLE 9, PARAGRAPH (G), PAGE 9, WE PROPOSE TO DELETE THE WHOLE PARAGRAPH.
- 12.- ON ARTICLE 9, PARAGRAPH (H), PAGE 9, FIRST SENTENCE, WE PROPOSE TO ADD "SOUTH" BEFORE "VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES". CHANGES IN (9) AND (10) AND (11) ARE IN TRUE APPLICATION OF THE THIRD BASIC PRINCIPLE IN POINT A OF THIS MEMORANDUM.
- 13.- ON ARTICLE 10, PAGE 11, FIRST PARAGRAPH, THIRD SENTENCE, WE PROPOSE TO ADD "PERMANENT" BEFORE "POLITICAL OR TERRITORIAL BOUNDARY"
- 14.- ON ARTICLE 10, PAGE 11, LAST PARAGRAPH, FIRST SENTENCE, BEFORE "NOT JOIN..." WE PROPOSE TO ADD "RESPECT THE DMZ AND THE TERRITORY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE OTHER PARTY IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 24 OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS. THEY SHALL..."
CHANGES (12) AND (13) ARE IN TRUE APPLICATION OF THE FIRST BASIC PRINCIPLE IN POINT A OF THIS MEMORANDUM.
- 15.- ON ARTICLE 12, PAGE 13, WE PROPOSE TO CHANGE THE FIRST THREE LINES AS FOLLOWS: "THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES SHALL IMMEDIATELY DESIGNATE..."

- 16.- ON ARTICLE 14, PAGE 18, WE PROPOSE TO CHANGE THE SECOND PARAGRAPH AS FOLLOWS: "THE FOLLOWING PARTIES SHALL BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE FOUR COUNTRIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION, AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TOGETHER WITH THE PARTIES TO THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON VIET NAM".
- 17.- ON ARTICLE 15, PAGE 19, SECOND PARAGRAPH, LAST SENTENCE, AFTER "SOVEREIGNTY AND SECURITY" WE PROPOSE TO ADD "OF ONE ANOTHER..."
- 18.- ON ARTICLE 15 (D), PAGE 20, WE PROPOSE TO DELETE "THREE" AND REPLACE IT BY "FOUR INDOCHINESE STATES"
- 19.- ON CHAPTER VIII, PAGE 21, WE PROPOSE TO MAKE IT A SEPARATE DECLARATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND NORTH VIET NAM, BECAUSE WE CONSIDER IT IS RELEVANT IN THIS AGREEMENT.

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FINAL SECTION OF 4

20.- ON CHAPTER IX, ARTICLE 18, PAGE 22, SECOND PARAGRAPH, WE PROPOSE TO DELETE THE SENTENCE "SUBSEQUENTLY A FRENCH TEXT WILL BE PREPARED FOR REFERENCE".

THE FOREGOING ARE POINTS RAISED AND AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM IN THE WORKING SESSION OF OCTOBER 21, 72 WITH DR. KISSINGER.

C. ON THE PARTICULAR POINT OF THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR SVN, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM STILL MAINTAINS THE BNRRC PRINCIPLE OF THE POLITICAL SOLUTION CONTAINED IN OUR 8 POINT PROPOSAL OF JANUARY 27, 72. HOWEVER, TO SHOW ITS GOODWILL FOR PEACE, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM TAKES A FURTHER STEP WITH A VIEW TO ENDING HATRED AND ENMITY, ACHIEVING NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, BROADENING THE BASE OF GOVERNMENT, AND INVITING ALL THE POLITICAL FORCES IN SVN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE NATION. IN THAT SPIRIT, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM MAKES THE FOLLOWING PROPOSAL:

- THERE WILL BE A NEW PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITHIN 5 MONTHS OF AN AGREEMENT. THIS ELECTION WILL BE ORGANIZED BY A COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION WHOSE COMPOSITION WILL BE DETERMINED AFTER AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED REFERENDUM. THE REFERENDUM WILL DETERMINE THE PERCENTAGE OF REPRESENTATION OF ALL THE POLITICAL FORCES IN SOUTH VIET NAM, INCLUDING THE NLF. BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THE INCUMBENT PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF SOUTH VIET NAM WILL RESIGN. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE WILL ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A CARETAKER HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, EXCEPT FOR THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES PERTAINING TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WHICH WILL REMAIN WITH THE COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

WHEN HE ASSUMES OFFICE, THE NEW PRESIDENT WILL FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT IN WHICH ALL POLITICAL FORCES WILL BE REPRESENTED IN PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF POPULAR VOTES THEY RECEIVED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THE CONSTITUTION WILL BE REVIEWED AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH THE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION FOR ITS CONSISTENCY WITH THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE WITH A VIEW TOWARD RESTORING A SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM TAKES THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ASK THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO PRESENT OUR POLITICAL PROPOSAL TO THE COMMUNIST SIDE.

IN VIEW OF THE POINTS RAISED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AND IN VIEW OF OUR MOST FORTHCOMING PROPOSAL FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION IN SOUTH VIET NAM, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM TAKES THE VIEW THAT THE DRAFT AGREEMENT CURRENTLY UNDER NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE MADE MORE FORTHCOMING, CONCRETE, AND JUST.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM GREATLY WELCOMES THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH WHOMEVER THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATES TO ACCOMPLISH THIS GOAL.

D.- THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM WISHES TO CALL UPON THE ATTENTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES THAT THE VIETNAMESE TEXTS OF ANY DOCUMENT IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS (SINCE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM, IN CASE OF AGREEMENT, WILL HAVE TO SIGN IN THOSE VIETNAMESE TEXTS) SHOULD BE GIVEN ON TIME TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM TO REVIEW AND PROPOSE CHANGES, IF ANY, IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY ILL-INTENTIONED USE OF WORDS BY THE COMMUNISTS OR BAD INTERPRETATION OF THE COMMUNISTS' USE OF WORDS.

IF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM DOES NOT RECEIVE THE VIETNAMESE TEXTS ON TIME, THAN IT WILL FEEL OBLIGED TO PROPOSE CHANGES AT THE LAST MINUTE; AND CONSEQUENTLY, IT WILL BE TOTALLY JUSTIFIED IN CASE OF ANY CRITICISM THAT IT IS STALLING FOR TIME OR DESTROYING PEACE.

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END TEXT

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